2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

The moieties have reciprocal

duties; e. g., after a death a member of the moiety complementary to the deceased person's moiety must kill an animal in the ensuing hunt, and after a dance the performers are washed by men of the opposite moiety. At Kejara only the Chera had the right to make bull-roarers.

Colbacchini (1925) ascribes seven clans to each moiety; Lévi-Strauss (1936) found six in the Chera, four in the Tugare. Both authors connect the clans with animal and plant species, and at times the linkage is multiple; e. g., a single Kejara clan is associated with the armadillo, the red macaw, and the dourado. It is not clear to what extent such plurality implies distinct subdivisions or whether a homogeneous clan unit is related to the several species in question.

The association does not necessarily involve a totemic name. This, e. g., is lacking in the baaddegaba clan despite its connection with the jaguar, a fish, and a bird. Since in all cases the linked species are freely killed and eaten, Lévi-Strauss (1936) regards the term "totemism" as inapplicable. According to him, a clan ancestor would receive a revelation from a spirit, whose embodiment in such and such a material guise would create the existing bond with a species and might inaugurate a corresponding appellation for the descendents.

As explained under Houses and Villages (p. 420), a secondary dichotomy characterizes the Vermelho River people; an axis perpendicular to the course of the river creates an Upstream and a Downstream half. This division leaves some of the clans intact, but splits up others into an Upstream and a Downstream section.

The clans have specific prerogatives, whence spring notable differences in wealth. Ceremonial bows, arrows, lip pins, and the pennants on penis sheaths bear designs distinctive of particular clans. Again, clans own personal names, dances (pl. 88), and songs. Certain clans contracted preferential marriages with others, apparently on the basis of personal names.

In the Rio das Garças district each village has two chiefs representing the mythical twins, Bakororo and Itubori, of whom the former takes precedence. Both are of the Weak moiety, but belong to distinct clans or subclans associated with the jaguar. Tradition has it that anciently both were of the Strong moiety. In accordance with the matrilineal system, succession is nepotic.

The chiefs are very influential, but lack coercive authority. They announce in the evening what is to be done on the following day, give marching orders, determine the location of clan huts in the settlement, lead in war, receive messengers, conduct various rites, and generally maintain old usage. But the individual tribesmen retain complete personal freedom, checked only by the vivid fear of disapproval. Even murder, instead of being punished, merely evokes a feud.

In the Vermelho district the several villages are under one paramount chief who enjoys greater power, but this may be due to Neo-

lineages have in contemporary Bororo rituals, and it is expressed in terms of seniority. Ki Bakororo is said to be the older brother, the two others the younger brothers. Each of lineages (brothers) has to perform different functions in certain ceremonies, and the ancestral brothers have their own distinct personalities in the myths. However, the Bororo affirm that the three terms are only three different names of the same person: Ki Bakororo. He also has many other names, but these three are his most important ones. There is a way of reconciling these seemingly contradictory statements. Table VIII diagrams relationships which accommodate both of the above interpretations.

Ki Bakororo, Badajeba Kudoro, and Jakorari are hierarchically ordered fraternal lineages. By the act of naming, every man and his mother's brother are equivalent: Ki Bakororo is equivalent to his mother's brother Ki Bakororo; Badajeba Kudoro is equivalent to his mother's brother Badajeba Kudoro; and Jakorari to his mother's brother Jakorari. If we go far enough, we arrive at their common mother's brother, who, by the naming act, is equivalent to all three lineages: to Ki Bakororo, Badajeba Kudoro, and Jakorari. Thus the Bororo can logically say that the three names are only different names of the same person. The principal name of this person was Ki Bakororo, and this was the name that his eldest sister's son inherited from him. The name then continued to be used as the name of the principal lineage within the subclan by Ki Bakororo's matrilineal descendants.

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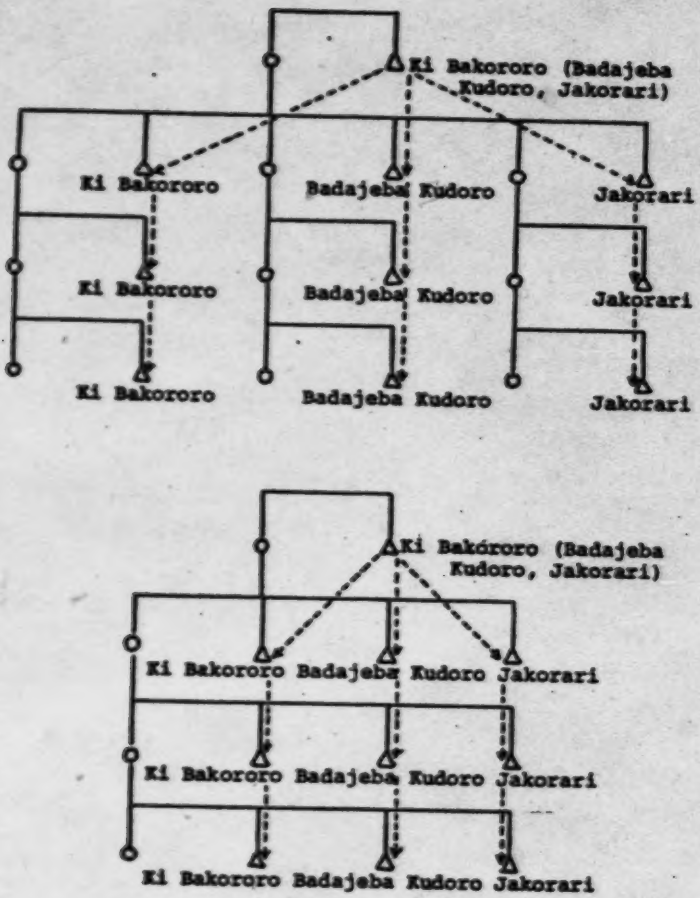
Table VIII

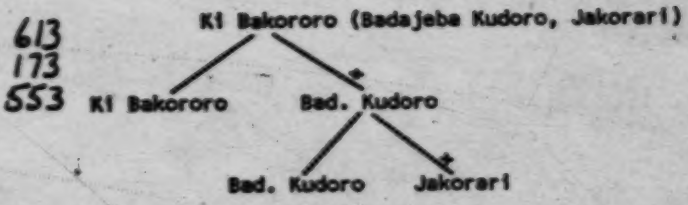


The broken lines represent name-giving relationships and the arrows indicate the direction from name-giver to name-receiver

613 553 173 it is not known if the other two names, Badajeba Kudoro and Jakorari, were actually used by the original Ki Bakororo, but this is not important. It may have happened that ten generations after the original Ki Bakororo, two of his descendants with the nicknames of Badajeba Kudoro and Jakorari made themselves famous and established their own separate lineages. But the relationship of equivalence is not directional, so the names Badajeba Kudoro and Jakorari are retroactive, and the Bororo can say that Ki Bakororo is Badajeba Kudoro and Jakorari.

181 Western anthropologists may consider themselves structuralists, but they still sometimes need historical explanations to understand better the structure of a system. The Bororo do not have this historical bias; their view of the world is entirely structural. We have already seen evidence of this world view in the symmetry of relationships between father and son and husband and wife and in the relationship of equivalence between a man and his name-giver; now it is evident in the hierarchical relationship among brothers who are "really the same person."

000 Ki Bakororo could be considered the unmarked term of this set, while Badajeba Kudoro and Jakorari are marked. In this specific example, Badajeba Kudoro is also considered the unmarked member in opposition to Jakorari, because Badajeba Kudoro is his older brother, and the relationship is transitive.



Cadet lines carry special names distinguishing them from their respective senior lines, which carry the prior or more general designation.

However, the relationship between brothers is not always transitive. Each case is resolved on its own merits. The Bororo take into consideration their own feelings and mythical knowledge about more or less close ties between brothers. Thus, in the subclan of the Black Ivagududoge, Tadugo is the older brother of Aroya Kurireu, and Aroya Kurireu is the older brother of Araru Kurireu. But the Bororo are very reluctant to say that Tadugo is the older brother of Araru Kurireu, though if the need arises (for example, if one is not available for a ceremony), they can be substituted for each other. Araru Kurireu is supposed to have been adopted from another clan by Aroya Kurireu, who named him. As a result of the name bestowed, the two are considered to be the same person (ere mitotuje, "they are just one"; e kare tuginoi, "they are not separate") because both names are ultimately names of the same person. Though Tadugo and Araru Kurireu are considered brothers and consequently should be regarded as the same person, the Bororo

gives orders for a communal hunt or fishing. The first one commands activities to be performed in the men's house or on the village plaza; the second one commands activities performed outside of the village. The first commands ceremonial, sacred activities; the second commands economic, profane activities. Here again we find a homologous relationship between older brother and male ancestor and younger brother and female ancestor expressed through the opposition between center and periphery; activities within the village and activities outside the village; the village and the forest; the men's house in the center of the village, as the place for making ornaments and performing ceremonies, and the women's houses around it, as the place where everyday life is carried on.

When they talk about the communal hunt, the Bororo say that in the past the headmen went with the hunters, but they themselves did not hunt; they only prevented their subjects from quarreling with each other; they kept order and peace and saw to it that the hunt went smoothly. In the village plaza and in the men's house, the leaders' place is in the center; the commoners sit around them. In addition to commanding the hunt, Akaruyo Bokodori is associated with war and killing. From stories and songs he is known as killer of many Bororo. Bakorokudu, on the other hand, is the peacemaker, a trait which he inherited from Baitogogo. Baitogogo is famous not only for his wisdom, but also for his mercy toward enemies. There are many stories about Baitogogo sav-

cause their Echerae husbands and wives would quarrel with them."[1]

Still, even today marriages within a moiety are quite frequent. Of twenty marriages in Pobojari five were between members of the same moiety; one of these was between members of the same clan. The Bororo say that when this happened in the past, the men from the opposite moiety would take the woman living with her moiety brother into the men's house, where she would be sexually available to all of them. Furthermore, though marriage with a moiety sister is an offense to the males of the opposite moiety, sexual relations are not. There is no special word for incest in the Bororo language. There is nothing horrifying in having sexual relations with a classificatory sister, and no supernatural punishment is to be expected for doing it. As for sexual relations with a real sister, or with a mother, the Bororo say only that it does not happen. It did happen one night in our village during a drinking party. A man and a woman, children of the same mother but different fathers, had sexual relations with each other. The only comment I could get from the villagers the next day was that the case was quite unusual,

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[1] "Ivagududoge remawuge, Orarimogodoge remawuge ekodo chaje. Echerae emedu kare etada. Duwure okiwa rema, kachuoro rema. Du wure okiwareu rema, pobureu rema, chiwaje rema, kuje rema, korao rema, kido rema. Du kodire eigoyare bu rogu remawu botudo t botudo t je. Mare kodure boiwugere erore oino jiwugerema ero kare ino, epagudure turo mode ino pui duji, awu tugoge, tuvire Echerae ekorigodu mode pudui duji kodi."

/145 cont./

562 224 833 with the woman, supposing that those weaken him physically and also mentally for the exercise of certain offices of his sex; and when he then, thanks to a reasoning by analogy, is led to suppose that the woman would be capable, by means of her contact, of drawing /146/ the strength from the weapons, it is not proved, with this, that he feels superior to the other sex or disdains it. Such customs are found among many peoples of different continents.

833 173 [224] Tiago Aipobureu in Meruri would tell me: "In the past, the men pulled out the mandibles of the ounce, but today they copulate so much they cannot do that anymore. Copulation attacks the blood very much, for this reason the man is stronger when he copulates rarely. In the past they had sexual relations only once or twice a month, today they have them once or twice a week. And in the past, the woman, in spite of the few relations, was content with the man for fear of losing him."

832 833 173 It seems, however, that in certain opposition to this is the indication by the same Tiago Aipobureu, according to which in the past the men consumed as an aphrodisiac the pitch of the jatobá (Hymenaea sp.). "Today the people only rarely eat this pitch; it is not necessary any more because now people always desire to copulate." -- Would this change not be provoked by the Bororo way of living and nourishing themselves, which our civilization altered so much?

832 They say that the only form of sexual caress known by the Bororo is to tickle each other, especially in the armpits and the pudenda, a thing which besides is never manifested in public.

838 839 171 Homosexuality and onanism are unknown among the Bororo, as well as among the majority of the Indian tribes visited by me.

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

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turn for such a present. When he would take his betrothed to himself he makes a second similar present to her parents and they deliver her to him in his hut. Parents try to betroth their daughters while still young. We saw no large families, the largest number of children any one mother had being three. Extremely early marriage and the fact that the wife is driven to the baehytu whenever she displeases her lord may be reasons for small families. They hold their wives in utter subjection through fear of the bope and of the baehytu. A few of the leading men have two wifes, an old one, and perhaps also a girl wife. Only men who have killed the spotted tiger, or performed some other feat of valor, may take a second wife. Children are not born in the village. The prospective mother hides herself in the bush until the child is born, and then returns to the vilage or is led back by female friends who go in search of her. It is common for children, especially girls, to nurse until they are six or eight years old, so large indeed that they can stand on the ground and nurse while the mother also stands. Younger children will climb up the mother's leg to reach her breast. They nurse at any time, the mother paying scarcely any attention to the child, who does absolutely as it pleases. The Xeráede and the Ta Naragêda in each village eats, fishes, hunts, works, and plays by itself. A man of the Xeráede cannot marry a woman of his own party, but must select one from the Ta Naragêda, and vice versa. The Bororó have a tradition that the Xeráede once possessed all things that the Bráede, civilized men, now possess, such as knives, axes, blankets, etc., but as these things brought calamity, they were obliged to abandon them. There is evidence that these Indians are made up of what was once two distinct tribes. The Xeráede tradition might indicate that the Bororó may have come in touch with the civilization of the Andean slope in ancient times.

The men are usually faithful to their wives—that is, they do not abandon them, especially where they have children, though at rare intervals one will become dissatisfied with his areda, drive her from the hut, and he himself take up his abode elsewhere. Fights between two married men are not uncommon through one intriguing with the other's wife. The conflict begins when the outraged husband berates the guilty one in shouts so loud that the whole village can hear, and the latter in turn at the other end of the village returns the compliment with interest. As they warm in their anger they emerge from their huts and finally get together, while all the men, women, and children of the village form a ring around them to